

AFFIDAVIT OF DR. GINA PEREZ

I, Gina Perez, state and declare as follows:

1. My name is Dr. Gina Perez, Ph.D. I am currently a professor at Oberlin College. I have taught at Oberlin College since 2003. Prior to that, I held academic postings at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College, CUNY, in New York City and at Northwestern University.
2. I received my Ph.D. in Anthropology from Northwestern University in 2000. I also hold a Masters in Anthropology from Northwestern (1995) and a Bachelors of Liberal Studies from the University of Notre Dame (1990).
3. My teaching and research focus for the past two decades has focused on issues of poverty, urban inequality, gender, migration, Latina/o youth, and the various survival strategies individuals and communities employ to meet their material, social and cultural needs. I have done extensive research in Puerto Rico, Chicago, and Northeast Ohio. My original research focused specifically on the ways migration is a survival strategy for low-income Puerto Ricans on the island and the mainland. I have particular expertise on the historical and cultural experiences of Puerto Ricans in the 1980s and 1990s and the ways Puerto Ricans used migration as a strategy to address their economic and social marginalization. I have also focused extensively on the impact of return migration in Puerto Rico in the 1970s-1990s. This work has made me familiar with the experiences of Dominican migrants in Puerto Rico in the 1980s and 1990s, as well as with the ways Dominican transnational practices have transformed the island and Dominican communities.

4. I have published extensively on these topics, in books, peer-reviewed journals, and other academic publications. I have also presented numerous lectures on the subject. I have received multiple research awards and teaching fellowships.
5. I have previously consulted in a capital case, for the Central District of California Federal Public Defender's office. I have not testified previously as an expert witness in a legal setting.
6. A copy of my current CV is attached to this affidavit.

Involvement in Obel Cruz-Garcia's Case

7. At the request of Obel Cruz-Garcia's current post-conviction counsel, I have been asked to offer an opinion regarding the experience of Cruz-Garcia in growing up in the Dominican Republic and then immigrating to Puerto Rico. Specifically, I have been asked to evaluate Cruz-Garcia's life narrative and place his story into the context of the broader experience of men and women emigrating from the Dominican Republic to Puerto Rico during that time period. Further, I have been asked to offer my opinions regarding how that broader experience and historical context might mitigate Cruz-Garcia's resulting involvement in the drug trade in Puerto Rico and the United States.
8. In developing my opinions, I have reviewed testimony from Cruz-Garcia's family members during his capital trial in Houston, Texas, in July 2013. In addition, I have reviewed affidavits from various family members currently living in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico.
9. Based on my review of these materials, and utilizing my professional knowledge and experience, had I been called as a witness at Obel Cruz-Garcia's trial, I would have been able to provide the following information.

Social, Cultural, and Economic Forces Shaping Cruz-Garcia's Childhood and Early Teenage Years

10. Obel Cruz-Garcia is one of four children raised in a rural area of the Northeastern region of the Dominican Republic at the beginning of the 1960s. Obel's paternal grandparents and extended family all lived nearby, and from a very early age, Obel's kin network and household was large, fluid and included extended family members. Like much of the Dominican population at the time, Obel's family was involved in agricultural work.¹ They owned a modest plot of land where they raised food for their families and to sell to earn money. The men in Obel's family were also fishermen, an important economic activity that fed their family and provided reliable income. As Obel's paternal uncle José de la Cruz notes, their family earned good money and they were blessed to be financially secure.² The family's economic security through the early 1960s reflects not only the industriousness of the Cruz-Santos family, but also national political economic policies that characterized the Dominican economy under the Dictator Rafael Trujillo from 1930-1961 that supported small-scale agricultural production by family farmers and limited the mobility of rural workers to ensure a robust supply of agricultural labor.³ At a very early age, Obel was expected to and actively participated in agricultural work, fishing, and helping to care for younger relatives. In short, Obel's life as a child was

¹ See Ramona Hernández. 2002. *The Mobility of Workers Under Advanced Capitalism: Dominican Migration to the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press for a discussion of the Dominican economy in the 1960s and its reliance on agricultural labor.

² See Declaración Jurado de José de la Cruz, 5.

³ Hernandez 2002, 35-36. See also Roberto Cassá, 1982, *Capitalismo y dictadura*. Santo Domingo: Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo.

quite typical of young, Dominican boys growing up in rural Dominican Republic in the 1960s-1970s.

11. What distinguishes Obel's early childhood, however, is that when he was young, Obel's mother left his father and eventually returned to live in her native Venezuela, leaving Obel and three of his siblings with their father, Valerio de la Cruz Santos. According to his father, Obel missed his mother after she left, but his father believed he was fine with the separation. Obel's partner Maria Capellán Romero, however, notes that she believes that Obel felt abandoned by his mother and lived with a kind of emptiness inside because of her decision to leave.⁴ From the time that Obel's father returned to live with his extended family with Obel and his siblings, it was clear that Obel took on an important role of caring for his brothers and sister by cooking, babysitting, making useful items for the household, fishing, and working with his father and uncle. His brother Joel Cruz-Garcia described Obel as growing up "too fast" and taking on so much responsibility for caring for his family in his mother's absence. "He took the role of caring for me and our family very seriously," Joel explains. "I felt that Obel took on a lot of responsibility for his family after our mother left," Joel continues.⁵ He was a good and hard worker helping his father provide for the family. Obel was someone who protected his family, helped others, and from a very early age took on roles that exceeded his age. As Joel notes, Obel, "began acting like a father when I was only five years old."⁶

12. Although by Dominican standards, Obel was from a small family (one of four siblings), he was surrounded by a large extended family of aunts,

⁴ Declaración Jurada de Maria Capellan Romero, 10; Declaración Jurada de Valerio de la Cruz, 8 and 9.

⁵ Affidavit of Joel Cruz-Garcia, 8.

⁶ Affidavit of Joel Cruz-Garcia, 13.

uncles, cousins and his grandparents. As both Valerio de la Cruz Santos and his brother José note, they were one of 24 children. Valerio's father had children with three different women and, he explains, it was not uncommon for men to have large families with more than one woman.⁷ José de la Cruz, for example, described having eight children with four different women.⁸ While having large families, multiple partners, and households headed by one parent is not unusual throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, the Dominican Republic has a particularly unique history of family size.⁹ Indeed, throughout his thirty-one year dictatorship, Rafael Trujillo implemented policies to encourage population growth by enforcing strict controls of emigration from the Dominican Republic, encouraging European immigration to the island, and “systematic encouragement of childbirth” and, therefore, large families to ensure a large and available labor pool for agricultural and industrial work.¹⁰ The existence of large families with a range of household arrangements, therefore, was both state-sanctioned and culturally acceptable in the Dominican Republic and throughout the Caribbean.

13. Obel was raised within this rich extended family, and his relatives described him as helpful, loving, responsible, and industrious. With his uncle and father, Obel fished, helped with farm animals, and helped with agricultural

⁷ Declaración Jurado de Valerio Julian de la Cruz Santos, 2.

⁸ Declaración Jurado de José de la Cruz, 2.

⁹ A great deal of scholarship on the Caribbean has focused on the distinctiveness of household arrangements and marriage patterns that do not conform to North American nuclear families. See Raymond Smith T. Smith. 1997. *The Matrilocal Family: Power, Pluralism and Politics*. New York: Routledge Press; Edith Clarke. 1957. *My Mother Who Fathered Me: A Study of the Families of Three Selected Communities of Jamaica*. London: Allen & Unwin; Helen Safa. 2005. “The Matrifocal Family and Patriarchal Ideology in Cuba and the Caribbean. *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 10(2): 314-338.

¹⁰ Hernández, 2002, 21.

work. He was also remembered as someone who was “willing to help anyone who needed help” even at risk of his own life. His uncle, for example, recalled the story of Obel jumping in in the water to save his father who was trapped in a fishing net.¹¹ His stepmother, Dorcas Noelia de la Cruz Faña, made similar observations describing Obel as “happy, respectful, and well-behaved.”¹²

14. In 1980, Obel’s father met and eventually married Dorcas Noelia de la Cruz Faña, who was a teacher. As one of eight children, Dorcas knew of Valerio and his sons and had a positive opinion of them. Once Dorcas and Valerio married, they had two daughters, who described Obel as someone who was a caretaker and who was loving and generous with them as they were growing up in the Dominican Republic.¹³ One of his sisters, Dorcas Yelietza de la Cruz explained, “He took care of us, of me and my brothers and sisters while our parents were working. He was a loving brother. And he cooked for us and took us outside to play. I remember how he would make hammocks for us and he would push us on the swings. He used to go and fish for us and generally took care of us. I have so much good memories of my childhood and when Obel used to care for me.”¹⁴ His willingness to care for his siblings, to use his hands to make things for others, and cook for them define Obel’s childhood as someone who from early on cared for people in the ways he could.

15. Obel’s stepmother, Dorcas, also described Obel as helpful and as a hard worker, even while he was in school. She also recalled how he went to

¹¹ Declaración Jurado de José de la Cruz, 7 and 8.

¹² Declaracion Jurada de Dorcas Noelia de la Cruz Faña, 6

¹³ Declaración Jurada de Menagen Valerio de la Cruz, 3.

¹⁴ Declaración Jurada de Dorcas Yelietza de la Cruz, 4.

church with her on a regular basis.¹⁵ His religious devotion is something that many of his family members commented on that defined his childhood as well as his adult life. His stepsister, Menagen, for example, described how he donated money to help build a local church.¹⁶ And his daughter, Obeliz, recalled how he emphasized how important it was for her to do well in school, go to church regularly and study the bible.¹⁷

Social, Cultural and Economic Forces Shaping Obel Cruz-Garcia's Late Teenage and Early Adult Years

Leaving the Dominican Republic

16. As a young man in his late teenage years in the Dominican Republic, Obel de la Cruz was like many young men struggling to work in a changing economy. While the Dominican economy in the 1960s and early 1970s was still largely defined by large numbers of workers in agricultural labor and subsistence economy, the late 1970s and 1980s witnessed unprecedented economic changes that had a dramatic impact on the economic, social and cultural lives of residents on the island and throughout the Caribbean. Foreign investment in the Dominican Republic, robust foreign aid, expansion of the island's industrialization program, and high commodity prices for Dominican goods meant that the economy expanded at unprecedented rates.¹⁸ But economic growth was also accompanied by growing unemployment caused, in part, by the rising number of uprooted rural workers unable to rely on past economic strategies of subsistence agriculture and agricultural production for their wages and incomes.

¹⁵ Declaración Jurada de Dorcas Noelia de la Cruz, 6 and 7.

¹⁶ Declaración Jurada de Menagen Valerio de la Cruz, 5,

¹⁷ Declaración Jurada de Obeliz Yuliana Cruz Capellán, 4.

¹⁸ Ramona Hernández 2002; See Moya Pons. 1995. *The Dominican Republic: A National History*. New York: Hispaniola Books.

Economic hardship increasingly defined life in the Dominican Republic in the late 1970s and 1980s. According to anthropologist Jorge Duany, “employment and underemployment, the rising cost of living, a chaotic transportation system, near collapse of basic public service like electricity, running water, housing, health care and education” made life very difficult for Dominicans in general, and those residing in rural areas in particular.¹⁹

17. In addition to deteriorating economic and social conditions, changes in Dominican migration also define the decades of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. As noted above, from 1930-1961, movement within the Dominican Republic and emigration were severely restricted under Rafael Trujillo. Under President Joaquín Balaguer, beginning in 1966, however, these restrictions were lifted and Dominicans increasingly engaged in internal and international migration. According to Ramona Hernandez, while it was virtually impossible for Dominicans to apply for a passport for more than thirty years, by the late 1960s, anyone who wanted a passport could apply and acquire one. In fact, she writes, “The granting of passports made concrete the opening of the door and, through the opening of the door, emigration was tacitly encouraged by the ruling structure of the Dominican Republic.”²⁰ These changes led to significant internal migration with those residing in rural areas often moving to urban centers like Santo Domingo. It also led to substantial emigration, legally and illegally. By the 1980s, migration was such a defining feature of Dominican life that Dominicans

¹⁹ Jorge Duany, 2005. “Dominican Migration to Puerto Rico: A Transnational Perspective.” XVII(1): 242-269. See also Ramona Hernández 2002.

²⁰ Ramona Hernández 2002, 40.

refer to this massive movement and displacement as “*irse para los países*”(literally ‘moving to the countries.’”²¹

18. While New York City was and continues to be the principal destination for Dominican migrants, Puerto Rico is the second largest destination location for Dominican migrants. Between 1966-2002, 118,999 Dominicans were legally admitted to San Juan, constituting 12% of Dominican migration to the US between 1961-2002. This substantial growth of the Dominican population in Puerto Rico reached an apex in 1991 and 1996 with more than 9,000 Dominicans legally migrating to the island. These numbers made Dominicans, “the largest and most visible minority on the island.”²² These numbers do not include the thousands of undocumented Dominicans who have arrived on the island, either by overstaying a tourist visa or by entering illegally by boat, crossing the forty-five mile Mona Passage separating the Eastern Dominican Republic from Western Puerto Rico. Both documented and undocumented Dominican migration to Puerto Rico has made San Juan the city with the largest number of Dominicans outside of the Dominican Republic and second only to New York City.²³

19. This is the economic, social, and cultural context in which Obel entered his late teenage and early adult years. By the mid-1980s when Obel began to court Mirella Pérez García, he was one of many young Dominicans engaged in internal migration in search of work, unsuccessfully seeking employment in an economy increasingly employing women more than men, and considering migration as a way to *mejorarse la vida*, to search for a better

²¹ Duany 244.

²² Duany, 246.

²³ Duany 245. See also Ramona Hernandez 2002 for a discussion of the reasons for Dominican migration to New York City specifically.

life.²⁴ This desire for a better economic future became even more urgent when Mirella became pregnant with Obel's first child. For those reasons, in 1986, like thousands of other Dominicans, Obel traveled on a *yola* (a makeshift raft/boat) to Puerto Rico. This, according to his stepmother Dorcas, was something that many people were doing at the time. Indeed, his father explained that while it was hard to see Obel leave his home, he knew that this was something so many were doing. Going to Puerto Rico was not only an increasingly popular destination for Dominican migrants, it also held the possibility of getting legal documents that would allow him to travel to and live legally in the United States. This was a point that his brother Joel confirmed noting, "A lot of people in the Dominican Republic were moving to Puerto Rico around that time because there was a rumor that if you come, you could get proper documents to live there and travel to the United States through an amnesty program."²⁵ These ideas of a better life and the possibility of regularizing one's status to go the United States circulated widely in the Dominican Republic in the 1980s and led Obel and tens of thousands of others to leave the Dominican Republic for Puerto Rico.

20. Although emigration became a defining feature of Dominican life in the 1980s and Obel received support from his family, his absence represented a

²⁴ Scholars have well-documented how industrialization programs in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, the U.S.-Mexico border as well as other places led to young women being successfully employed because they were regarded as easier to control, better suited for the kind of light, industrial work required, and were willing to accept lower wages. This, in turn, meant that men were increasingly swelling the ranks of the unemployed and often engaged in migration to seek employment abroad. See Helen Safa. 1995. *The Myth of the Male Breadwinner: Women and Industrialization in the Caribbean*. Bolder, CO: Westview Press; Maria Patricia Fernandez Kelly. 1983. *For We are Sold, I am my People: Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier*. Albany: State University of New York Press; Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia Pessar. 1991. *Between Two Islands: Dominican International Migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

²⁵ Affidavit of Joel Cruz-Garcia, 9.

loss for his family in the Dominican Republic. According to Valerio, “I told Obel that I missed him, but that there were places where one could go and live a better life than what we were living in the Dominican Republic. Although we were happy, we had very little.”²⁶ Mirella concurred with this assessment saying that although she was six months pregnant with Obel’s first child when he left, he needed to do so “for a better life.”²⁷ Moving to Puerto Rico, therefore, was seen as a natural extension of who Obel was: as someone who worked hard to care for his family, emigration and being separated from them was what he needed to do. Mirella noted, “He worked very long hours [in the Dominican Republic] to take care of me and his family. That was his nature...In those days, a lot of people were leaving the Dominican Republic for a better life in Puerto Rico.”²⁸

21. While Puerto Rico was often regarded as “a springboard for the U.S.,” the cultural, linguistic and historical ties between Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic make it attractive and reasonable for Dominicans to remain and reside in Puerto Rico. Undocumented Dominicans arriving to the island often entered through rural areas of Western Puerto Rico but eventually made their way to urban areas like San Juan. This is precisely what Obel did as he and thousands of others made their way to neighborhoods in Rio Piedras and Santurce, that experienced significant population growth during the 1980s as increasing numbers of Dominican emigrants arrived seeking work in the formal and informal economy to support themselves and their families in the Dominican Republic. This, as

²⁶ Declaración Jurada de Valerio de la Cruz, 10.

²⁷ Closing Penalty Hearing, 13.

²⁸ Affidavit of Mirella Perez-Garcia, 9-10.

Jorge Duany and other scholars have noted, represents the early years of the development of Dominican transnational communities.

Making a New Transnational Life in Puerto Rico

22. While migration is a feature that defines human experiences across millennia, since the 1990s, migration scholars have identified, theorized, and empirically demonstrated the distinctiveness of migration patterns in the late 20th century that is not about uprooting and leaving one's home behind. Instead, new migration patterns are increasingly transnational in character, meaning they involve the development, maintenance, and reproduction of migrant networks, households, economic and affective ties across time and space.²⁹ According to Jorge Duany, "Dominican transnationalism is most forcefully expressed through long-distance kinship networks, households and child-rearing practices," a phenomena that has been well-documented by many scholars.³⁰ These transnational practices are not unique to Dominican migrants, but the particular experiences, hardships, and opportunities of Dominican migrants in Puerto Rico is one that many scholars, writers, politicians, and journalists have explored in great detail.

23. Although Dominican migrants began to arrive in Puerto Rico in significant numbers in the 1980s and 1990s seeking a better life, Puerto Rico also was experiencing significant economic, social, and political problems that

²⁹ For one of the first landmark studies on transnationalism and migration, see Nina Glick-Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc. 1992. *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

³⁰ Examples of this work include Luis Guarnizo, 1994. "Los Dominicanyorks: The Making of a Binational Society." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*. 533: 70-86; Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia Pessar. 1991; Peggy Levitt. 2001. *Transnational Villagers*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Jorge Duany 1994. *Quisqueya on the Hudson: The Transnational Identity of Dominicans in Washington Heights*: CUNY: Dominican Studies Institute.

constrained migrants' experiences. Beginning in the mid-late 1970s, Puerto Rico was in economic crisis. The impact of the oil crisis on the island and the devaluation of the American dollar in the early 1970s, as well as the failure of Puerto Rico's industrialization program to provide adequate jobs for its growing population led to increased unemployment and underemployment. According to Marisol LeBrón, "Following the events of 1973, unemployment rose to 18.1% in 1975...reaching its apex in 1985, with unemployment increasing to a startling 21.8%.³¹ In response to the deepening economic crisis, the island and U.S. federal government developed specific economic policies in Puerto Rico in order to attract high tech and capital-intensive industries to the island.³² And while this strategy did, indeed, create new jobs and possibilities for Puerto Rican workers, these jobs required high levels of education and failed to generate enough jobs for the large numbers of unskilled workers and the unemployed. In response, the local Puerto Rican government focused on expanding employment opportunities in the public sector to "compensate for diminishing employment opportunities in the private sector." Thus by 1992, one-third of the island's labor force was employed in the public sector.³³

24. As many scholars have noted, the failure of the formal economy to provide jobs for its population, and the social and economic marginalization that ensues, leads to the development and growth of the informal or underground economy. This is certainly the case in Puerto Rico. According to sociologist Sudhir Venkatesh, "At its core, the underground economy is a widespread

³¹ Marisol LeBrón. 2013. P. 20. See also Pantojas-Garcia, "'Federal Funds and the Puerto Rican Economy,' 209.; James Dietz. 2003. *Puerto Rico: Negotiating Development and Change*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

³² LeBrón, 21.

³³ LeBrón, 21. See also Rafael Bernabe, "Puerto Rico's New Era: A Crisis in Crisis Management," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 40.6 (November/December 2007), 17.

set of activities, usually scattered and not well-integrated, through which people earn money that is not reported to the government and that, in some cases, may entail criminal behavior.”³⁴ According to LeBrón, “The informal economy encompasses semi-legal activities such as unlicensed day cares, food peddlers or car repair operations operating out of someone’s home to illicit organizations dedicated to drugs, robbery, sex work and gambling. In Puerto Rico, high levels of unemployment combined with low labor force participation rates indicate that the informal economy, alongside migration and federal assistance, played a key role in absorbing surplus laborers and stabilizing the Puerto Rican economy.”³⁵

25. Beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, Dominican migrants increasingly comprised a large number of surplus laborers involved in the informal economy in Puerto Rico. Often they worked off the books as domestic workers, in construction, landscaping and gardening, and providing childcare. As Mirella notes, for example, when she arrived in Puerto Rico to join Obel in 1994, she worked cleaning houses.³⁶ Obel also worked in a range of jobs in the informal economy, including working as a gardener and, according to Obel’s brother Joel, even collecting “cans to trade in for money when times were hard so that he would be able to support his kids.”³⁷ These economic activities, however, are often concomitant with illicit economic strategies and, as LeBrón and others note, “the growth of the drug-based informal economy, has become a source of income for a number of Puerto

³⁴ Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh, *Off the Books: The Underground Economy of the Urban Poor*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 8. See also Philippe Bourgois. 1995. *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Alice Goffman. 2014. *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

³⁵ LeBrón 22.

³⁶ Affidavit Mirella, 11.

³⁷ Declaración Jurada de Maria Capellan Romero, 2; Affidavit of Joel Cruz-Garcia, 11.

Ricans, much to the consternation of Puerto Rican and American officials.” It has also become a source of income for some Dominican residents on the island who, like poor, socially, racially and politically-marginalized Puerto Rican residents on the island, face significant resentment, discrimination and isolation from mainstream Puerto Rican society.³⁸

26. The existence of underground economies is not new. In fact, as sociologist Sudhir Venkatesh notes, they are a familiar feature of many communities and its participants span the race, class and gender spectrum who seek to make ends meet. The dominant perception circulating in mainstream society, however, focuses on some underground economic activities as aberrant, anti-social and diametrically opposed to mainstream values. Researchers have tackled this question and many have demonstrated how “hustling,” “getting paid,” and making ends meet are all survival strategies for people to address their individual and collective needs. Sudhir Venkatesh writes, “Gangs and mafias anchor our popular imagination of underground trading, but the reality is far more complicated.” Some activities, he continues, “such as snow shoveling or weekend poker games are so ingrained that they are not really perceived as ‘underground economic activity’ even though participants can make substantial earning from them and they might produce some financial gain for a wider circle of families, friends and neighbors.”³⁹ Yet other underground activities are readily stigmatized and are the objects of police surveillance and repression. This is certainly the case of the underground drug economies, and the response by local law enforcement in Puerto Rico and U.S. federal officials had a dramatic impact on the lives of poor communities on the island, many of whom were Dominican and who

³⁸ LeBrón, 22-23.

³⁹ Venkatesh, 9-10.

were increasingly stigmatized by mainstream Puerto Rican society and regarded as being the source of all social and economic ills facing the island in the 1980s and 1990s.

27. According to Jorge Duany, Dominican immigration in the 1980s and 1990s generated significant hostility and contributed to the development of anti-Dominican discourse. “The figure of the Dominican—especially the undocumented immigrant—appears as the Other par excellence: a strange, dangerous, and incomprehensible character who occupies a marginal and clandestine status.”⁴⁰ This perception and stigmatization of Dominican immigrants continues into the present, with recent investigative reports documenting on the ways these perceptions have contributed to employment discrimination, economic and social marginalization, and isolation among Dominicans in Puerto Rico.⁴¹

28. For Obel Cruz Garcia, seeking employment as an undocumented Dominican in the late 1980s and 1990s in Puerto Rico was no small matter. He managed to find a range of jobs as a gardener, collecting and recycling cans, working as a real estate agent, all jobs that were part of the informal economy and paid very little. Like so many Dominican migrants, Obel lived in low-rent neighborhoods like Barrio Obrero, where he could draw on networks with other co-nationals and managed to send money back to the Dominican Republic to help support Mirella and their son. His family members recalled

⁴⁰ Jorge Duany. 2002. *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 27.

⁴¹ In 2012, the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication published a series of investigative reports on Puerto Rico and immigration, with a particular focus on Dominican immigration. This series, “Puerto Rico: Unsettled Territory,” is part of their broader focus on immigration and border issues. For an example of this see Weston Phippen’s article “Dominicans Dream of a Better Life From the Confines of a ‘Worker Neighborhood in Puerto Rico. October 29, 2012. <http://cronkite.asu.edu/buffett/puertorico/placita.html>, accessed July 18, 2015.

how he was an excellent provider, never forgetting his family at home. And when he was with his family, Mirella recalled that he was “an excellent father...he participated with them in school. When they would get home from school, he would do their homework with them....He liked to take them to the park and to church. He liked to cook. He liked to see them eat the food he would cook. He would always like to make sure that their nails were trimmed and that they were always nicely dressed.”⁴² Maria Capellan Romero, Obel’s partner in Puerto Rico, also commented on how dedicated Obel was as a provider and father. “I knew he was going to be a good father and take care of us.” This was even true while Obel was in jail. Maria described, for example, that while he was in jail, she would bring him material for him to make hammocks, key chains and other items for her to sell in order to make money for her and their daughter. “Obel would do everything that was necessary to provide for his family.”⁴³

29. Given Obel’s demonstrated commitment to financially provide for his extensive families, both in the Dominican and in Puerto Rico, it is not surprising that turning to the drug economy became yet another source of generating income. As the possibilities for formal employment diminished for all residents on the island, the drug economy grew in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and the United States. As Obel’s brother Joel notes, “Drugs were everywhere in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic in the late 1980s.” And like many with experiences in the informal economy and limited economic possibilities, selling drugs seemed like a reasonable strategy. Indeed, this was and continues to be a gamble many take in spite of the dangers involved. “If we look beyond the surface, we find an element of

⁴² P. 18, 18-25.

⁴³ Declaración Jurada de Maria Capellan Romero, 4-5.

necessity, of pragmatic logic, even while laws are broken and even while the standards of a just life are constantly changing.”⁴⁴ As a young rural Dominican migrant in San Juan in the 1980s, the ideas of a just life involved providing for family, meeting the financial obligations, and living up to the gendered responsibilities of being financially responsible for kin in multiple households. Obel met those expectations and obligations as best he could under the circumstances in which he found himself. And given the constrained conditions in which he lived and worked, it is notable how all of Obel’s family members praise him for his industriousness, his ability to meet his responsibilities as a father and a provider, and his generosity to family, church and community across borders.

Conclusion

30. Being a migrant is never easy. To be poor, undocumented, socially-marginalized and regarded as the source of economic and social problems while one struggles to meet one’s familial responsibilities is even more difficult. These are precisely the conditions in which Obel Cruz Garcia found himself in Puerto Rico in the late 1980s and 1990s. As someone accustomed from a young age to the demands of agricultural work in a small, rural town in the Dominican Republic in the 1970s, and as an adolescent who helped his father care for his siblings after his mother moved away, Obel shouldered a great deal of responsibility from a very young age. Like thousands of Dominicans seeking a better life in Puerto Rico, Obel arrived by boat in Puerto Rico and successfully found jobs that paid little and had little social status, jobs in the informal economy that employed thousands of undocumented immigrants in Puerto Rico. As Puerto Rico’s

⁴⁴ Venkatesh, 7.

economic crisis continued to experience uncertainty, the informal drug economy provided some certainty and economic security for many already on the economic margins. Like so many others, Obel used the money he earned to care for family members in multiple households in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. This transnational strategy is a familiar one for many migrants: they are sometimes part of multiple households with multiple partners. And while they are not physically present, they remain integral parts of family life through the remittances they send to their households. Indeed, countries like the Dominican Republic rely heavily on the money migrants send home with such remittances constituting the second leading source of income on the island (second only to the Dominican Republic's robust tourist economy) and providing approximately \$450 million from Dominicans residing in Puerto Rico in 2003.⁴⁵

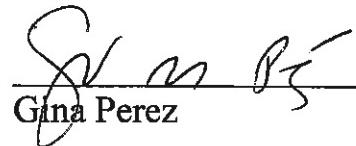
31. Obel Cruz-Garcia's income-generating activities certainly seem to fall outside what mainstream society regards as legitimate work. But upon closer examination, they also reflect the strategies people often turn to in order to meet their obligations as a father, son, brother, uncle and community member in severely constrained circumstances. Rather than aberrations or pathology, these actions suggest the lengths people often go to provide a decent life for themselves and their families.

32. I was available to consult and testify at Cruz-Garcia's trial in July 2013. Had I been contacted, I would have told Cruz-Garcia's counsel what is contained in this affidavit and I would have testified to the same had I been called as a witness.

33. I have read and reviewed this twenty-page affidavit.

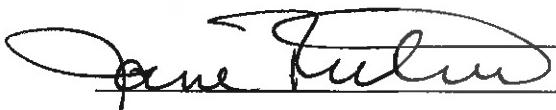
⁴⁵ Duany 2005, 261.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of Texas that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and that this affidavit was executed on August 7, 2015, in Oberlin, Ohio.



Gina Perez

Subscribed and sworn to before me on August 7, 2015.



Jane Rubino
Notary Public, State of Ohio



Jane Rubino
Notary Public
Lorain County, Ohio
Commission Expires
01/08/2019

**Curriculum Vitae of:
Gina M. Pérez, Ph.D.**

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Education:

Ph.D., Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University, December 2000.

M.A., Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University, 1995.

B.A., Program of Liberal Studies, University of Notre Dame, *cum laude*, 1990.

Employment:

Professor, Comparative American Studies Program, Oberlin College (2003-present)
Director of the Comparative American Studies Program, 2008-2013

Research Associate, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, The City University of New York (2000-2003)

Adjunct Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University (1997)

Instructor, Chicago Field Studies Program, Northwestern University (1996-1997)

Instructor, G.E.D. (General Equivalency Degree), Malcolm X, Chicago City Colleges (1995-1997)

Publications:

Books

Student, Citizen, Soldier: Latina/o Youth, JROTC, and the American Dream. New York University Press, Social Transformations in American Anthropology Series. **In Press, expected publication date, October 2015.**

Beyond El Barrio: Everyday Life in Latina/o America, co-edited with Frank Guridy and Adrian Burgos Jr. New York: New York University Press, 2010.

The Near Northwest Side Story: Migration, Displacement and Puerto Rican Families. Berkeley: University of California Press, 276 pages, 2004

Winner of the Delmos Jones and Jagna Scharff Memorial Prize for the Critical Study of North America, awarded by The Society for the Anthropology of North America,

April 2006.

Peer Reviewed Articles

Latino Studies special journal issue on Latinas/os and Militarism, co-editor with Luis Plascencia and Alisse Waterston; co-author of introduction and author of essay, “Latina/o Youth, JROTC, and Ethnographic Practice,” *Latino Studies* 13(2): Summer 2015.

“How a scholarship girl becomes a soldier: The militarization of Latina/o youth in Chicago Public Schools,” *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 13: 53-72. (2006).

Paper solicited and accepted for publication in special issue on political economy and culture.

“Puertorriqueñas rencorosas y mejicanas sufridas: Gendered ethnic identity formation in Chicago’s Latino communities. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 8(2): 96–124. (2003).

“‘La tierra’s always perceived as woman’: Imagining urban communities in Chicago’s Puerto Rican community,” in *Transnational Latina/o communities: Politics, processes, and cultures*, Carlos Vélez-Ibañez, Anna Sampaio, and Manolo González-Estay, eds. Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield, 181–202. (2002).

“The other ‘Real World’: Gentrification and the social construction of place in Chicago,” *Urban Anthropology*, Special issue “Urban Legends: Race, Class, and the Politics of Mythical Revitalizations, 31(1): 37–68. (2002).

“An Upbeat West Side Story”: Puerto Ricans and postwar racial politics in Chicago,” *Centro: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies*, Special issue on Puerto Ricans in Chicago, **guest edited** by Gina M. Pérez, XIII (2): 47–68. (2001)

“Teaching social theory through students’ participant observation.” *Teaching Sociology* 26(4): 347-353. Co-authored with Ira Silver, primary author. (1998).

Chapters in Scholarly Books

“Reflection: The Work That Remains.” In *Feminist Activist Ethnography: Counterpoints to Neoliberalism in North America*, Christa Craven, Dána-Ain Davis, ed. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013, pp. 217-221.

“Introduction,” (co-edited with Frank Guridy and Adrian Burgos Jr.) in *Beyond El Barrio: Everyday Life in Latina/o America*, Gina Perez, Frank Guridy and Adrian Burgos Jr., eds. New York: New York University Press, 2010, pp. 1-23.

“Hispanic Values, Military Values: Gender, Culture and the Militarization of Latina/o Youth,” in *Beyond El Barrio: Everyday Life in Latina/o America*, Gina Perez, Frank Guridy and Adrian Burgos Jr., eds. New York: New York University Press, 2010, 168-186.

“JROTC and the New American Militarism,” chapter solicited for *Rethinking America: A Reader on Imperialism and Inequalities in the Contemporary United States*, Jeff Maskovsky and Ida Susser, eds. Paradigm Press (2009), pp. 31-48.

“Discipline and Citizenship: Latina/o Youth in Chicago JROTC Programs,” in *New Landscapes of Inequality*, Micaela di Leonardo, Jane Collins, and Brett Williams, eds., School of American Research. (2008), 113-130.

“A gendered tale of place, nation and identity: Return migration to Puerto Rico,” chapter solicited for anthology, *The experience of return migration: Caribbean perspectives*, Dennis Conway, Robert Potter and Joan Phillips, eds. Ashgate Press, pp. 182-205. (2005).

Book Reviews

Review of *Latinos in New England*, edited by Andrés Torres, 2006. *CENTRO: The Journal for the Center for Puerto Rican Studies* XIX(1): 403-406. (Spring 2007)

Review of *Puerto Rican Arrival in New York: Narratives of the Migration, 1920—1950*, edited by Juan Flores, 2005 and *Boricuas in Gotham: Puerto Ricans in the making of Modern New York City*, edited by Gabriel Haslip-Viera, Angelo Falcón, and Félix Matos Rodríguez. *Latino Studies* 4(1-2): 189-191. (2006)

Review of *Barrio dreams: Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and the neoliberal city*, by Arlene Dávila. University of California Press, 2004. *American Anthropologist* 107(3): 517-518. (2005)

Encyclopedia Entries

“Commuter Nation,” in *Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*,” Deena González and Suzanne Oboler, eds. Oxford University Press. (2005)

“Chicago,” in *Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*,” Deena González and Suzanne Oboler, eds. Oxford University Press. (2005)

“The Puerto Ricans,” in *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, James Grossman, Ann Durkin Keating, and Janice L. Reiff, eds. University of Chicago Press, pp 664-665. (2004)

“Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN),” in *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, James Grossman, Ann Durkin Keating, and Janice L. Reiff, eds. University of Chicago Press, p. 318. (2004)

Invited Articles and Essays

“Chicago Beckons: Chicago Then and Now,” essay solicited for special series titled, “Chicago Beckons,” in *Anthropology Newsletter* (Professional monthly of the American Anthropological Association), September December 10, 2012, p. 16.

“Should Oberlin Allow ROTC On Campus? No,” essay solicited for *Oberlin Alumni Magazine*, Fall 2011, p. 8.

“Methodological Gifts in Feminist and Latina/o Studies Anthropology,” essay solicited for special series titled, “Engendering Anthropology,” in *Anthropology Newsletter* (Professional monthly of the American Anthropological Association), October 2007, pp. 6-7.

“Puertorriqueñas’ stories of life in Chicago,” *Diálogo*, Special issue on Latinas in the United States, Center for Latino Research, DePaul University, Winter/Spring(6), 18–23. (2002)

“A tale of two *barrios*: Puerto Rican youth and the politics of belonging,” *Souls: A critical journal of black politics, culture, and society*. Institute for Research in African-American Studies, Columbia University, 4(3): 39–47. (2002).

“Voting with their stomachs: *Las elecciones del siglo en El Salvador*,” *LASA Forum*, Fall, 25(3): 3-6. Co-authored with Liesl Haas. (1994)

Reprints

“*Los de Afuera*, Transnationalism, and the Cultural Politics of Identity.” In *Ethnography and the City: Readings on Doing Urban Fieldwork*, Richard E. Ocejo, ed. New York: Routledge Press, pp. 64-78.

“Gentrification, Intrametropolitan Migration, and the Politics of Place,” from *The Near Northwest Story: Migration, Displacement and Puerto Rican Families*, 127-130; 142-152. In *The Gentrification Debates*, Japonica Brown-Saracino, ed. New York: Routledge Press, 2010, pp. 319-329.

“A tale of two *barrios*: Puerto Rican youth and the politics of belonging,” *Transnational Blackness: Navigating the Global Color Line*, Manning Marable and Vanessa Agard-Jones, eds. Palgrave, 2008, pp. 65-72.

Works in Progress

“Keyword: Barrio,” essay solicited for book *Keywords in Latino Studies*, Lawrence LaFountain-Stokes, Nancy Mirabal and Deborah Vargas, co-editors. New York University Press.

Research Interests:

U.S. Latinas/os; urban anthropology, political economy; gender/feminist theory; militarism; migration/transnationalism; poverty; ethnography; United States/Caribbean/Latin America

Awards and Fellowships:

Eric and Jane Nord Associate Professorship, 2009-2014

Research Status, Oberlin College, 2013-2014.

Donald R. Longman Fellowship, Oberlin College, 2006-2007.

OKUM Faculty Exchange Grant, Oberlin College (with Lisa Hall, principal organizer), 2006-2007

PSC-CUNY Research Award, grant for research on Latino household economies and militarism in Chicago, Hunter College, The City University of New York, 2003.

PSC-CUNY Research Award, grant for on-going ethnographic and historical research in Chicago, Hunter College, The City University of New York, 2001.

Intercambio Research Grant, City University of New York–University of Puerto Rico Academic Exchange Program, support grant to organize academic workshop on return migration to Puerto Rico, co-coordinated with Jorge Duany, University of Puerto Rico, 2001.

Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship, 1999.

University Scholar, dissertation support grant, Northwestern University, 1999.

Travel Grant, Association for Feminist Anthropology, American Anthropological Association, 1999.

Dissertation Year Fellow, dissertation write-up grant, Northwestern University, 1998.

Social Science Research Council Summer Dissertation Workshop Fellowship, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1996.

Travel Grant, Center for International and Comparative Studies, Northwestern University, 1996.

Predissertation Research Grant, Center for International and Comparative Studies, Northwestern University, 1995.

Research Grant, Center for International and Comparative Studies, Northwestern University, 1994.

CIC Fellow, four-year graduate fellowship, Committee for Institutional Cooperation University Consortium, 1993-1997.

Research and Fieldwork:

Ethnographic study of Latinas/os and Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps, Lorain, Ohio, 2006-present.

Preliminary research in Latina/o Lorain. Worked with two Oberlin students to begin year-long ethnographic project on Latinas/os in Lorain, summer 2005.

Interviews with Latina/o youth on their participation in high school's Junior Reserve Officer Training Program, Chicago, Summer 2004.

Preliminary field research on Latina/o families, the military, and household economies in Chicago, Summer 2003.

Ethnographic field research on space, place, culture and political economy among Puerto Rican communities in Chicago. Part of on-going investigation on migration, gender, and space in Chicago and San Sebastián, Puerto Rico, July 2001 and July 2002.

Ethnographic and historical field research for dissertation, San Sebastián, Puerto Rico. Historical and ethnographic research on Puerto Rican migration to Chicago, the impact of migration and return on the San Sebastián community, and the role of gender in transnational migration processes, 1998

Ethnographic and historical field research for dissertation, Chicago. Extensive historical and ethnographic research on the impact of migration on the local community and the role of gender in transnational practices, 1997-1998.

Predissertation field research: Return and circular migration to San Sebastián, Puerto Rico. San Sebastián, Puerto Rico, 1995.

Ethnographic field research: Latino identities in rural Northern New Mexico. Coyote, New Mexico, 1994.

Ethnographer for MOECEN: Elections Monitor, translator, elections analysis. San Salvador, El Salvador, March, 1994.

Invited Seminars and Conferences:

Co-facilitator with Professor Jorge Mariscal (UCSD), "Race, Class and Culture in Counter Recruitment," Workshop for the National Counter-Recruitment and Demilitarization Conference, Roosevelt University, Chicago, July 17-19, 2009.

Discussant for panel, "Colonial Counterpoints," SSRC-Mellon Mays Graduate Student Summer Conference, Oberlin College, Oberlin Ohio, June 19, 2009.

Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, Tepoztlán, Mexico, August 1-8, 2007

School of American Research, Advanced Seminar titled, “The New Landscapes of Inequality,” organized by Micaela di Leonardo (Northwestern University), Jane Collins (University of Wisconsin, Madison), and Brett Williams (American University), Santa Fe, New Mexico, March 12-16, 2006.

Social Science Research Council, *Translocal flows in the Americas Project*, New York, NY, May 7-8, 2004.

Rockefeller Foundation and The CUNY Dominican Studies Institute, “The Transnationalization of Everyday Life: The Impact of Global Transformations on Community Experiences,” May 24–25, 2001.

Invited Lectures and Presentations:

“Puerto Rican/Latina/o Youth, Citizenship and the New American Militarism,” Keynote Address for Hispanic Heritage Month, University of Akron, September 19, 2012.

“Reports From the Field: Latina/o Youth, JROTC, and Ethnographic Practice in Chicago and Northeast Ohio,” Latino Chicago Lecture Series, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, April 13, 2012.

“*Beyond El Barrio* Book Symposium,” The Ohio State University, April 12, 2011.

“JROTC, Latina/o Youth, and the New American Militarism,” The Ohio State University, January 26, 2011.

“*Beyond El Barrio* Book Symposium,” University of Texas, Austin, November 16, 2010.

“JROTC, Latina/o Youth, and the New American Militarism,” Latino Studies Institute, University of Notre Dame, September 15, 2010

“JROTC, Citizenship, and Ethnographies of Power,” Department of Anthropology Colloquium series, Cornell University, October 24, 2008.

“Militarizing Latina/o Youth,” Tepoztlán Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, Tepoztlán, Mexico, August 1-8, 2007.

“Militarizing Latina/o Youth in American Public Schools,” Indiana University, September 20, 2006.

“Resilience and Community Building on *Paseo Boricua*,” invited speaker for symposium titled, “Puerto Rican Chicago Community as Intellectual Space,” Chicago, IL, June 17, 2006.

“How a Scholarship girl becomes a soldier: Militarizing Latina/o Youth in Chicago Public Schools,” Feminist Lecture Series, Oberlin College, May 10, 2006.

“*Yo soy el Army*: Latinas/os and the New American Militarism,” School of American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico, March 12-16, 2006.

“Latina/o ethnography and *The Near Northwest Side Story*,” book presentation at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, CUNY, October 26, 2005.

“JROTC, stratified education, and organizing against the military recruitment of Latina/o youth,” invited speaker for panel discussion and forum titled “Students not Soldiers: The Militarization of Latino/a Youth,” DePaul University, Chicago, April 14th, 2005

“Latinas/os, military service, and new directions in Latina/o studies scholarship,” invited speaker and participant in “Beyond El Barrio: Symposium for New Directions in Latina/o Studies,” Macalester College, April 14th, 2005 (**co-organizer of symposium**)

“Feminism, militarism, and exploring the militarization of Latina/o youth,” invited speaker for Women’s History Month, Eckerd College, St. Petersburg, FL, March 31st, 2005.

“Feminism, militarism, and exploring the militarization of Latina/o youth,” invited speaker for Women’s History Month, Bates College, Lexington, Maine, March 24th, 2005.

“*Los de afuera*: Gendered experiences of return,” invited presentation for the Gender and Im(migration) Workshop at the Rockefeller Center for Public Policy and Social Sciences, Dartmouth College, February 3, 2005.

“How a Scholarship girl becomes a soldier: Puerto Rican/Latina youth, sexuality and militarism,” invited by the Department of Women’s Studies, Dartmouth College, February 3, 2005.

“Lessons from the field,” invited speaker for Lectures in the Community series, sponsored by the Latin American and Latino Studies Program, University of Illinois, Chicago, Institute of Puerto Rican Arts and Culture; Puerto Rican Cultural Center, Chicago, January 16, 2005.

“How a Scholarship girl becomes a soldier: Puerto Rican/Latina youth, sexuality and militarism,” invited by the Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University, January 17, 2005.

“How a Scholarship girl becomes a soldier: Puerto Rican/Latina youth, sexuality and militarism,” invited by Latin American and Caribbean Studies, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL, October 26, 2004.

“Housing, education and militarism in Chicago: Research agenda recommendations,” invited participant in *Translocal flows in the Americas Project* sponsored by the Social Science Research Council. New York, NY, May 7-8, 2004.

“Contesting geographies of home, space and identity in Chicago’s Near Northwest Side,” presentation at Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association Meetings, Chicago, Illinois, November 22, 2003.

“Puerto Ricans in Chicago,” Portraits of Contemporary Puerto Rican Communities, Yale University’s Summer Institute for Educators, New Haven, CT, July 8, 2003.

“Gendered geographies of home and displacement in Chicago,” New Directions in Latina/o Studies: Gender, Sexuality and Race in Twenty-First Century *América*, Wheaton College, Norton, MA, March 21, 2002.

Presentation of special issue of Centro *Journal* on Puerto Ricans in Chicago, sponsored by The Latin American and Latino Studies Program at the University of Illinois, Chicago; Institute of Puerto Rican Arts and Culture; Puerto Rican Cultural Center, Chicago, March 10, 2002.

“A tale of two *barrios*: Puerto Rican youth and the politics of belonging in Chicago and San Sebastián, Puerto Rico,” Race and Globalization Conference, sponsored by the Institute for Research in African American Studies, Columbia University, New York City, November 1, 2001.

“Puertorriqueñas rencorosas y mexicanas sufridas: Constructing self and other in Chicago’s Latino Communities,” Seattle University, Women’s Studies Work-in-Progress Series, January 12, 2001.

Conference Papers and Presentations:

Discussant for Panel, “The Barrio at War: Militarization in Latina/o Communities,” Latino Studies Conference, Chicago, Illinois, July 18, 2014.

“Mitigation Investigation, the Death Penalty, and the Tools of Critical Americanist Anthropology,” American Anthropological Association Meetings, November 23, 2013.

“What is good with America”: Puerto Rican Youth, Citizenship and JROTC in Northeast Ohio,” Biennial Meetings of the Puerto Rican Studies Association, October 25, 2012.

“Ethnographies of Empire: JROTC, Citizenship, and Puerto Rican Youth in Northeast Ohio,” Invited Session for American Studies Association Meetings, San Juan, Puerto Rico, November 15, 2012.

“Latinos, Gender and Culture in Military Recruitment,” Latin American Studies Association Meetings, San Francisco, May 25, 2012. (**Roundtable discussion**)

Discussant for panel titled, “Puerto Rican Transnationalism: A Debate,” Latin American Studies Association Meetings, San Francisco, May 24, 2012.

“Latina/o Youth and JROTC in the International City, Lorain, Ohio,” 10th Ohio Latin Americanist Conference, Bowling Green State University, February 19, 2011.

Militarizing Youth: JROTC, Citizenship, and Puerto Rican youth in Northeast Ohio,” American Anthropological Association Meetings, November 2009. (**Panel co-organizer**)

“JROTC, Citizenship and Puerto Rican Youth in Lorain, Ohio,” American Educational Research Association Meetings, April 17, 2009.

“JROTC, Citizenship and Puerto Rican Youth in Lorain, Ohio,” Puerto Rican Studies Association Meetings, October 2, 2008. (**Panel organizer**)

“JROTC, Latina/o Youth, and Neoliberal Cities,” American Anthropological Association Meetings, November 28, 2007. (**Invited Presidential Session**)

Discussant for panel titled, “The Politics of Space and Otherness: Mapping Latina/o Spatial Interconnectedness and Investigative Frameworks across Transnational Landscapes,” American Anthropological Association Meetings, November 28, 2007. (**Invited Session of the Association of Latina/Latino Anthropologists**)

“Latina/o Youth, JROTC, and the Punitive Face of Neoliberalism,” Latin American Studies Association Meetings, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, September 6, 2007.

“Yo Soy El Army: Latina/o Youth, Citizenship, and JROTC,” American Anthropological Association Meetings, San Jose, CA, November 16, 2006. (**Invited Session of the Society of Latin American Anthropology Section**)

Moderator for panel on Puerto Rican Religious Experiences, Puerto Rican Studies Association Meetings, Ithaca, NY, October 7, 2006.

“Latinas/os and the new American militarism,” presentation at the Society for the Anthropology of North America Meeting, New York, NY, April 21, 2006.

“Puerto Rican/Latina youth, sexuality and militarism,” presentation at Puerto Rican Studies Association Meetings, New York, NY, October 22. 2004 (**panel organizer**)

“Contesting geographies of home, space and identity in Chicago’s Near Northwest Side,” presentation at Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association Meetings, Chicago, Illinois, November 22, 2003.

“Military presence in schools and Latina/o household economies,” presentation at brown bag lunch series, Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, The City University of New York, January 15, 2003.

“How a scholarship girl becomes a soldier: U.S. military recruitment in a Chicago high

school, post-September 11th,” paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Meetings, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 23, 2002.

“Puerto Rican youth, gender, and the military in Chicago,” Puerto Rican Studies Association Meetings, Chicago, Illinois, October 6, 2002.

“A gendered tale of place, nation, and identity,” Puerto Rican Studies Association Meetings, Chicago, Illinois, October 6, 2002.

“The other ‘Real World’: Gentrification and the social construction of place in Chicago,” part of panel presentation Puerto Ricans: Space, Race, and the Social Construction of Place, sponsored by the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, The City University of New York, March 14, 2002.

“Contesting geographies of home, space, and identity in Chicago’s Near Northwest Side,” joint meetings of the American Ethnological Society, the Canadian Anthropology Society, and Society for Cultural Anthropology, Montreal, Quebec, May 6, 2001.

“The rootedness of migrant lives in Chicago and San Sebastián, Puerto Rico,” Excellence and Innovation: Research and Teaching Puerto Rican/Latino Studies at CUNY Conference, April 27, 2001.

“Latino racial formations in Chicago,” part of panel presentation Latina/o Racial Formations, sponsored by Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, The City University of New York, February 28, 2001.

“Puertorriqueñas rencorosas y mexicanas sufridas: Constructing self and other in Chicago’s Latino Communities,” American Anthropological Association Meetings, San Francisco, California, November 18, 2000.

“An upbeat Westside story”: Puerto Rican migration to Chicago,” Puerto Rican Studies Association Meetings, Amherst, October 27, 2000.

“*Los de afuera*: Migration, community and the politics of place in San Sebastián, Puerto Rico,” Latin American Studies Association, Miami, FL, March 17, 2000.

“‘All in the family’: Gender, kinship and family studies in *The people of Puerto Rico*,” for **invited session panel** “Revisiting *The people of Puerto Rico*: Anthropological inquiries into Puerto Rican life, past and present,” American Anthropological Association, Chicago, November 17, 1999 (**organizer and co-chair of panel**)

“From ‘model minority’ to ‘underclass’: A history of Puerto Rican migration to Chicago,” The Society for the Study of Social Problems, Chicago, August 5, 1999.

“*La tierra’s always perceived as woman*”: Imagining urban communities in Chicago’s Puerto Rican community,” American Sociological Association Meetings, Chicago,

August 6, 1999.

“‘La tierra’s always perceived as woman’: Imagining urban communities in Chicago’s Puerto Rican community.” Latin American Studies Association Meetings, Chicago, November 25, 1998.

“Imagining rural and urban communities: Gender and migration in Chicago’s Puerto Rican communities,” Women’s Studies Faculty/Graduate Colloquium, Northwestern University, December 4, 1997.

“Flying on the Mayflower: Puerto Rican culture and migrations between Chicago and San Sebastian, Puerto Rico,” American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, November 23, 1996.

“Migration’s meanings: The political economy of Puerto Rican culture and migration in Chicago,” Puerto Rican Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, September 28, 1996.

“What’s really *new* about the new transnationalism?: Race and gender considerations about Puerto Rican migrations to Chicago,” American Ethnological Society, San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 20, 1996.

“Identity politics, women and migration,” Conference on Women’s Studies and Feminist Thought: The Next Millennium, Northwestern University, March 6, 1996.

“The self and Other: Ethnic identities in Coyote, New Mexico.” Ethnographic Field School Conference, Gallina, New Mexico, August, 1994.

“Reflections on the electoral process in El Salvador,” International and Comparative Studies Seminar, Northwestern University, April, 1994.

“The bittersweetness of change: Gender ideology and sugar production in early twentieth century Puerto Rico,” Center for Interdisciplinary Research in the Arts, Northwestern University, March, 1994.

Professional Service:

President Elect of the Association for Latina/Latino Anthropologists, American Anthropological Association, 2016-2018

External Reviewer for Tenure and Promotion, Hunter College, CUNY and Montclair State University, Fall 2014

LASA (Latin American Studies Association), member of Latina/o Studies Section Book Award Committee, 2013.

Member of Executive Committee for the Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, 2012-2013.

Member of Ethnic Studies Committee for American Studies Association. Elected to 2 year term, Fall 2011-2013.

External Reviewer, Program Review of American Studies Department, Amherst College, Spring 2012.

At-Large Member of Society of Anthropologists of North America. Elected to 2-year term, November 2006-2008.

LASA (Latin American Studies Association), member of Latina/o Studies Section Book Award Committee, 2008.

ALLA (Association of Latina/Latino Anthropologists), member of Book Awards Committee, 2006-2007.

SANA (Society of Anthropologists of North America), Chair of Book Awards Committee, 2006-2007.

Invited External Reviewer of faculty development grants for the PSC-CUNY (Professional Staff Congress-City University of New York), January 2006

Manuscript Review for University of California Press, Oxford University Press, and University Press of New England

Manuscript review for scholarly journals *American Ethnologist*, *Latino Studies*, *CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies*, *Ciencias Sociales* (University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras), 2001-present.

Appointment to Hunter College Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects from Research Risks, 2002-2003.

Consultant:

Expert Witness/Mitigation Consultant for Federal Public Defender's Office, Central District of California, October-August 2009-2010.

Media Appearances and Interviews:

Interviewed for and quoted in article, "In Chicago schools' Junior ROTC programs, some see a troubling trend," *Chicago Reporter*, January 7, 2014.

Featured in article, "Rewriting Humboldt Park story," *Chicago Tribune*, January 18, B3, 2005.

Featured in article "Una mirada a la comunidad boricua," *La Raza* (Chicago), January 19, 2005.

Interviewed by and provided background information for reporter for the *Lorain Morning Journal* about sterilization campaign in Puerto Rico, Fall 2005.

Puerto Rico Herald, quoted in article “In Puerto Rico, soldiers prepare to prove mettle,” February 16, 2003.

The Hartford Courant, quoted in article “Puerto Ricans eager to serve,” February 17, A1, 2003.

National Public Radio affiliate in Chicago, WBEZ, radio interview about the history of Chicago’s Puerto Rican community, June 21, 2002.

Hispanic Link Weekly Report, quoted in article about Puerto Rican politics, economics, and migration, January 7, 2002.

New York Times letter to the editor, response to Op-Ed piece on Latinos, race, and 2000 census, co-written with Miriam Jiménez Román and Carlos Vargas, May 15, 2001.

15 July 2015